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VOL. IV. No. 5.

TRADE UNION COUNCIL 304  
CHICAGO, ILL.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 1917.

25 CENTS FOR SIX MONTHS: 50 CENTS PER YEAR: \$1 PER YEAR OUTSIDE UNITED STATES

# AMERICAN SOCIALIST

Readers For The American Socialist Now Means Party Members Later On

# Socialist In Congress Points Way To Lasting Peace

## All Allied Countries Urged To State War Aims; Asks Parliaments To Send Delegates To Washington Conference.

(Special Correspondence)

WASHINGTON, D. C., August 6.—Meyer London, Socialist representative from New York, has introduced a joint resolution in the House of Representatives calling upon the legislative bodies of the countries now at war with Germany to elect from their membership an "interparliamentary conference" to reach a common understanding of the basic principles upon which a lasting peace may be established.

The resolution requests the president to convey the invitation to the governments of the nations to provide for the election of the delegates to the conference, which is to be held in Washington.

London's resolution is the first concrete proposition yet presented to Congress plac-

## First Details of Great Peace Meet To Be Held At Stockholm

By BASSETT DIGBY.

(Special Cable to The Chicago Daily News)  
STOCKHOLM, SWEDEN, July 30.—I am able to send The Daily News the first details of the great international socialist peace conference in August and to indicate the scope of the aims of all the delegates, who are expected to number 250, who will all sit in the same hall.

Efforts were made to obtain the use of the chamber of the riksdag (parliament), but the Swedish government refused, averring that the grant would be construed as an unneutral act. It is now expected that the conference will sit in the building of the Nordiska company (a department store), in the center of Stockholm.

### PROCEEDINGS NOT SECRET.

THE conference will be behind closed doors, like the conversations hitherto held by visiting delegates with the Dutch and Scandinavian committee. There will be no secrecy, but because of the pressure for accommodations representatives of the socialist newspapers and the foreign correspondents already in Stockholm will have the preference.

The date for the opening of the conference now stands as August 15, but it is highly probable that it will be postponed until August 27, because of the London conference August 8 and 9 of Socialists from the entente countries.

**EDITORS' NOTE.**—According to later information the international entente allied conference will be held in London, August 28-29, while the international conference called by the Russian Socialists will be held at Stockholm, Sept. 9-16.

It is thought likely that the entente conference aims to weld together the attitudes of the various national delegations before they come here.

### DELEGATIONS FROM END OF EARTH.

THE call for the Stockholm conference has gone out to the most remote ends of the earth—to South Africa, South America, Australia and New Zealand. It is expected that a high percentage of delegations from even the outlying nations will attend.

Delegations from all the warring powers already are assured. The joint Russo-Scandinavian-Dutch committee, which is acting as host, has assurances that even representatives of the German minority will come.

### CONFERENCE HAS TWO AIMS.

WHAT does this extraordinary gathering at the height of the world war of representatives of international socialism intend to accomplish? Mainly two things, both big.

The first test will consist of an attempt to demonstrate to the world by a powerful appeal to the socialist spirit of the delegates gathered from five continents and seven seas their international solidarity and potentiality for action on behalf of democracy and for keeping the world stable and sane—in brief, the rehabilitation and demonstration of the socialist "Internationale" (international organization) as a world factor.

Secondly, and more sensational, the conference will aim to fix the blame for this war. The conference means to get to the bottom of this all important mystery. It is realized, as high persons connected with it told me, that it is no use talking peace terms unless they find who is guilty of beginning the war. "Who applied the match?"

Every delegation of belligerents will have to answer in the presence of the world's delegation an interrogation on its attitude during the war and render an account of its party stewardship. No belligerent delegation will be held to account for the deeds of its government, but all will be asked when, if at all, began its distrust of the government's catch phrases that plunged the country into war and kept it there, and how the socialist leaders can reconcile with their socialist consciences their toleration and even approval of the socialism of their countrymen who continue to fight.

### URGE WORLD SOCIALIST PROGRAM.

IF A unity of agreement can be brought out and maintained among all delegations it is expected that a practical socialist peace program approved by the world's socialists will be drawn up.

An elaborate system of interpreters will be necessary in this babel. The official languages of the conference will be French, German and English. An interpreter will sit with every group. After each foreign delegate has spoken various group interpreters will explain the main points of the speech to those around them. In some cases speeches will have to be interpreted into German and French before the Slovak, Croat and Bulgar interpreters will be able to grasp the versions and translate them into their own tongues.

ing upon the parliaments of the warring countries the responsibility of determining terms of peace.

### TEXT OF RESOLUTION.

THE resolution follows:

"Resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled, that in order to promote democracy in international relations, and to reach a common understanding of the basic principles upon which a lasting peace may be established, a conference of representatives elected from the membership of the legislative bodies of the countries now at war with Germany be held at the earliest possible date, and be it further

"Resolved, that the president of the United States be requested to convey

to the respective governments of the said nations the invitation of the Congress of the United States of America to elect delegates to an interparliamentary conference to be held at the city of Washington, District of Columbia, for the purposes above stated; and be it further

"Resolved, that an appropriation of \$250,000 out of moneys in the treasury of the United States not otherwise appropriated is hereby authorized to be made for the purpose of this resolution.

"It is evident that throughout the world there is a growing demand that the principal issues of the war be made clear," said London, in explanation of his resolution.

"Resolved, that the president of the United States be requested to convey

"A WAR OF NATIONS.

"THIS is a war, not of armies, but of na-

tions. The coercive principle which exists in armies cannot be applied to entire nations. A nation at war must be convinced of the justice of its cause, and when more than one nation is involved in a common war all of them must, at least, agree on one thing, that their objects shall not conflict.

"A declaration by a conference of representatives of all of the Parliaments of the nations arrayed against Germany would constitute an appeal to the reason and to the conscience of the world. It would have an immediate effect upon the liberty and peace-loving elements in the central powers.

"The value of the Reichstag declaration has been underestimated. It is, first of all, an assertion of the right to determine international relations by a Parliament which has heretofore been submissive to the government. Second,

it is a direct bid for peace. Third, it emphasizes the fact that the representatives of the German people have realized the danger of an economic alliance after the war.

### EXPECT NO VICTORY.

"IT is evident that they do not expect to defeat the allies, that no matter how optimistic they may be about their military success, they have no hope that Germany will be able to force its terms upon the allies.

"The best they can hope for is a stalemate from a military standpoint and an economic alliance against them after the conclusion of the war.

"The United States is in the best position to initiate such a conference. The quarrel is comparatively young. We have not yet become embittered. We are still capable of dispassionate reasoning.

"The calling of an interparliamentary conference will not weaken or separate, but unite."

## Russia Seeks To Unite The Friends Of The Revolution

By JAMES O'DONNELL BENNETT  
(Special Cable to The Chicago Tribune)

STOCKHOLM, August 5.—At a plenary sitting of the central executive committee of the all-Russian congress of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' council the following resolution offered by the Socialist Revolutionists and Mensheviks was passed by an overwhelming majority:

"The country and the revolution are in supreme danger from the threatening military collapse, attempts at a coup d'état by anarchists and counter revolutionaries. These dangers are worse because of the steadily increasing economic disturbances and the food and financial crises, which have reached a desperate point."

"Under such conditions the country's only salvation seems to be the creation of a strong revolutionary force, equipped with full authority to accomplish these democratic and social reforms proclaimed in the provisional government's declaration, because they will prevent economic disaster and cut the ground from under the feet of anarchy and counter revolutions. A passive resistance in some cases is manifest against all the provisional government's revolutionary measures."

### MUST REORGANIZE GOVERNMENT.

"The boycotting of the government's efforts acts to delay the accomplishing of urgent political, agrarian and financial reforms and postpone the summoning of a constitutional assembly. This is nothing but an effort on the passivists' part to use the country's difficult situation to their own advantage and to seize power for themselves. Such resistance only offers direct aid to the counter revolution's darkest elements and steers towards the country's utter collapse."

"A coalition government can only be formed by an organized bourgeoisie's recognition of the revolution's achievements and the bourgeoisie's agreement to carry out all labor and agrarian reforms and to sustain the provisional government's entire program of peace without annexation or indemnities and with recognition of the rights of nationalities to self-government."

"Therefore it is necessary to reorganize the administration machinery and place it in charge of persons true to the revolution."

### FACE UNDREAMED OF MISERY.

THIS pronouncement was followed by a speech by M. Tchelidze, president of the executive committee of the soldier's and workmen's council. He said:

"Revolutionary Russia's government must become the victim either of internal enemies, which means counter revolution, or of external enemies."

"This extraordinary situation demands extraordinary measures to prevent a new anarchistic coup d'état and the army's decay. Culmination of these disastrous conditions would threaten the country with undreamed of misery."

"All members of the council, provincial officials, and army delegates agree absolutely that it is necessary to smash the counter revolution, because it is trying to twist to its own interests those measures necessary to take against anarchy."

### SEE HAND OF IMPERIALISTS.

THESE utterances give special significance to the declaration by the committee on foreign affairs of the workingmen's and soldiers' council in Petrograd concerning the Socialist peace conference in Stockholm. This declaration says:

"The impression is growing that, guided by world imperialists, hands of sabotage are working secretly to destroy the work of drawing together the toiling masses of all countries in behalf of peace. We declare with utmost emphasis that the revolutionary democracy of Russia, which writes upon its banner 'The Battle for Universal Peace,' cannot countenance such sabotage."

"Under no pretext, however plausible, can the Stockholm conference be delayed if this struggle for the peace for which all nations are longing, is to be brought to victorious fruition. If this conference should be prevented the whole world shall know the names of the men responsible for its failure."

### END REIGN OF BLOOD.

"THEY shall bear publicly before the toiling masses of the whole world the responsibility for the inevitable disastrous consequences."

"At the beginning of the fourth year of the world war the watchword for peace must ring more clear than ever before. It is high time to bring the glad news of peace to the masses. It is high time, we think, to end this reign of bloody insanity, which is banishing from the world centuries of human culture and is devastating all civilized countries."

"WITH THOSE WHO DO NOT UNDERSTAND THE NEED OF ENDING THIS SLAUGHTER AND SUFFERING OF INNOCENT VICTIMS, THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION CANNOT WALK IN THE SAME PATH."

## Clarence Darrow Takes Up Censorship Of Press With President Wilson

As we go to press word comes from Washington that Clarence Darrow, representing The American Socialist, has had an interview with President Wilson on the question of the press censorship. Full details in our next issue. Darrow has been in the east for the past two weeks exerting every effort possible to have the administration raise the censorship against the Socialist and labor press. We are hoping his efforts have been crowned with success.

### Senate Hears Plea For Strong Voice To Raise Itself For Peace

(From The Congressional Record)

MR. SMITH of Michigan, I have an editorial from the Detroit News of July 28. This paper holds a leading place in American journalism and represents a circulation daily of 234,800. The editorial bears upon the present international situation and deals with the question in a large and patriotic spirit. I should like to have it printed in the RECORD for the information of the Senate.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

### IS THERE NO VOICE FOR PEACE?

Is there nowhere in this world a strong voice that dares raise itself for peace?

Has it become a crime to deplore the death of human beings?

Is it cowardice to have a living hope that 600,000 young men of this land may be saved from death in the trenches?

We, the people of the United States, thru our representatives in Washington, have declared that we must fight back at Germany. We are taking 600,000 of our best young men, picking them from the arts of peace, and pushing them to the front to fight our fight, if needs be to die for us.

They're not to say ay or nay; theirs but to go forth to kill and be killed.

There is civilization left in the world. Is it unpatriotic to say that all this slaughter is needless?

Have Governments so failed that they can do nothing but set men at each others' throats to take life?

Does real service to humanity—to one's country lie in taking life or in saving life?

Has every last effort to secure an honorable peace been exhausted? Are any efforts at all being put forth now to secure an honorable peace?

Are we so taken up with our preparations to kill that we give no thought to efforts to spare?

Are we sure that we are right, in the belief that there is nothing left to this Nation but sacrifice?

The sacrifice of 600,000 of our best young men, and 600,000 more to follow them, and they to be followed by still another 600,000, and each of these 600,000 to take a life for a life?

We know that we would rejoice with all the world if peace were declared.

While encouraging our officials in equipping armies and navies and ambulance corps, let us encourage them also in steps of peace, steps that will avoid the heavy toll of lives that war exacts.

other nation. The love for father and son and brother is as great as in any other people.

While Germany has been reducing the man power of France, the French fighters have been hitting blow for blow and have reduced the man power of Germany. England, too, has killed hundreds of thousands of Germans; so has Russia.

Behind Germany are the rivers of blood that we see rising before us. With Germany are the dead, the maimed, and the killed.

With three great armies and some lesser ones in the conflict Germany sees rising before it another nation that can send 10,000,000 men against its army, if need be, and furnish countless supplies.

Sturdy young men in Germany have been killed or crippled to a number that runs into the millions. She must send her youth and her older men also against our Army, if they are not already in the trenches.

Germany must be weary of the slaughter, of the privation and suffering, of the debt mounting higher and higher.

We know in our hearts that we are not a blood-lusty people.

We know in our hearts that we would not kill if killing could be avoided.

Do we know in our hearts that we have done all we can do to avoid killing?

Provocations? Yes.

Patience tried? Yes.

Time for calling to arms? Yes.

Time to fight? Yes; if necessary.

But while shouldering the arms should we not let it be known that we would prefer to stop the flow of blood rather than to cause more to flow; that we would prefer to heal the wounds rather than to cause fresh wounds; that, rather than take life, we would prefer saving the lives of our enemy, as well as the lives of our own young men?

We know that we would rejoice with all the world if peace were declared.

The Canadian government is getting ready to take over all the railroads in the dominion.

It is thus putting into practice some of the advanced ideas of its people, a progressiveness that manifests itself in a stubborn opposition to conservatism.

The government now announces its intention of taking over the entire Canadian Northern Railway system of more than 9,000 miles. When the negotiations are completed the people of Canada will own a railroad system from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

"Who is going to run the railroad after the government takes it over?" asks some pessimist doubter, who always argues that all men with ability cannot possibly work for the government as well as for the privately owned railroad corporation.

Finance Minister White, of Canada, answers this question immediately by declaring that the government will retain all of the present capable operating heads of the railroad.



## X RAYS

By JOHN M. WORK.

**C**APITALISM deprives the masses of the people of most of their earnings.

Please read that again.

Capitalism deprives the masses of the people of most of their earnings.

This exploitation of the people out of most of their earnings is not a by-product of capitalism. It is not an incident. It is not an accident. It takes place because of the very nature and essence of capitalism.

**U**NDER the capitalist system of industry, called capitalism, the great industries are owned by a comparatively few capitalists and combinations of capitalists known as corporations.

The fact that the capitalists own the industries gives them the power to exploit the wage workers out of most of their earnings.

The wage workers are dependent upon the capitalists for jobs, because the capitalists own the industries. The wage workers are therefore compelled to accept jobs at wages which amount only to a fraction of the value of their labor. The capitalists are not in business for the fun of the thing. They are in business to make money. They are in business to make profits. The only way in which they can make profits is by gouging others. They do not earn any money themselves, because they do not do anything useful. That is, in their capacity as capitalists they do not do anything useful. If any of them do anything useful, to that extent they are not capitalists, but workers. As capitalists, they do not perform any useful social function. They are parasites. The only way they can get money is by getting the earnings of others.

**Y**ET they are rich.

They get rich by keeping for themselves most of the earnings of the wage workers, the farmers, and the rest of the common people.

They accomplish this exploitation in several ways.

They gouge the wage workers out of part of their earnings by paying them less than they earn. They gouge all the common masses of the people, including the wage workers and the farmers, out of part of their earnings by charging them too much for the things they have to buy. They gouge most of the masses of the people out of part of their earnings by charging them exorbitant rents.

**I**T WOULD be interesting to know exactly what per cent of the earnings of the masses of the people are taken away from them by this exploitation.

But the capitalist system of industry is so chaotic in its nature that it is impossible to secure accurate information on this subject.

The problem is not a simple one. On the contrary, it is very intricate and complex. The solution cannot be reached by the mere subtraction of one sum from another.

To take the amount for which the manufactured products are sold, and deduct the demand of wages paid to the factory workers, and set down the balance as the amount of exploitation, is to reach an utterly illogical conclusion—a conclusion which cannot be sustained for a moment.

There are several factors which this method does not take into consideration.

The legitimate cost of raw material should be deducted.

The legitimate wages of superintendence should be deducted. Salaries are often padded. Also, salaries are frequently paid to persons who do not perform any useful function. But, in so far as salaries are really earned by actual necessary service in the industrial process, they should be deducted.

The cost of new factory buildings and the installation of new machinery, if necessary and bone fide, should be deducted.

Furthermore, the amount of exploitation is not to be merely spread over the factory workers. It is to be spread over all the useful workers. Take the railroad workers, for example, and the teamsters, the school teachers, and many others who could be mentioned. They do not work in the factories. They do not produce any tangible product which can be weighed or measured. Nevertheless, they are necessary to the social process. Their pay necessarily and legitimately comes out of the total product of society. So do the other legitimate expenses connected with their occupations. The question cannot be properly approached from the standpoint of one lone group of workers. They cannot be divorced from the rest. All legitimate industries of society are interrelated. The whole social process must be taken into consideration.

**O**NLY a fraction of the total amount of exploitation takes place in the pay envelope.

If all exploitation took place in the pay envelope, it would be necessary for us to instantly quit objecting to high rent and the high cost of living. We would, in that case, have no legitimate objections to these at all.

But the fact of the matter is that a vast amount of exploitation does take place by means of rent and consumption.

The average worker who has a family pays somewhere in the neighborhood of one-third of his income as rent for an alleged home. Sometimes he pays more than a third.

If he got it at cost—as he should—it would probably cost him about one-third or one-fourth of what he now pays. Maybe even less.

This is one of the big forms of exploitation.

Then, when he buys food, fuel, clothing, etc., he is again mercilessly exploited.

If he got these at cost—as he should—he would get them for a fraction of what he now pays.

This is another big form of exploitation.

**T**AKING all these things into consideration, it is evident that the useful workers are exploited out of most of the value of their labor.

But it is also evident that it is an impossibility to arrive at the definite and accurate percentage of exploitation.

**T**HE best way to prove that there is vast exploitation is just to point out the capitalists.

They do nothing useful.

Nevertheless, they possess great wealth. They have princely mansions, summer homes, automobiles, yachts, fine clothes, jewels, etc. They indulge in elaborate social functions, and they go globe trotting whenever they feel like it, etc.

These things show at once that they possess great wealth.

Yet they perform no useful social function.

Where, then, do they get this wealth.

Where could they get it, ultimately, except from the useful?

This proves, without the possibility of successful denial, that the percentage of exploitation is large.

The precise figures are relatively unimportant.

**A**GAIN, we must never lose sight of the fact that the workers are not only exploited out of most of the value of their labor but they are also deprived of most of their opportunity to produce.

By its very nature capitalism is prodigiously wasteful and cannot utilize the elements of productivity which would immensely increase the total product. It also prevents millions from engaging in productive industry at all.

**S**Ocialism will make the exploiting industries collective property, owned by all the people and run for the benefit of all the people. This will give the people their full earnings. It will enable them to produce more. It will give them shorter work days. It will give them a chance to make their lives worth living.

President Gompers of the American Federation of Labor, under cover of the pro-German hysteria, has inaugurated a campaign to kill Socialism in the labor unions of New York City. He'll remember with sorrow the day he started this dastardly attack. It happens that the Jewish workers in the clothing trades, Socialists to the core, practically dominate the New York trade union movement. Gompers evidently thinks he can discredit their Socialist officials by raising the false, moth-eaten, cowardly cry of pro-Germanism. He will fail.

### Gongress Is Stirred By Mail Tampering Charges

Charges made by Congressman Tague of Boston that post office inspectors had been systematically opening his private mail in order to "get something on" him to punish him for his stand in the pneumatic tube fight, has stirred Congress to its depths.

The hearings of the House Committee on Post Office Expenditures are crowded with congressmen and their secretaries, most of whom seem convinced that the Boston congressman has got the goods on the ring of post office inspectors who dominate the department.

These revelations, coupled with the vigorous fight initiated by The American Socialist on behalf of the twenty socialist and radical papers which Postmaster Burleson has held up, have kept the department under fire for the past two weeks.

The climax in the Tague case came, quite unexpectedly, from the defense. When Congressman Tague ventilated his charges, Postmaster John Murray of Boston hurried to Washington and demanded a hearing. He was given one and on the stand he passionately denied that he had opened Tague's mail or permitted any post office employee to open his mail. He carefully explained, however, that he had no control over the post office inspectors who are responsible only to the administration at Washington. The official transcript of the testimony from this point on makes piquant reading:

Chairman Keating: I want to know to what extent an inspector has the right to examine the mail of a citizen without the consent of that citizen, and I thought as postmaster you might be able to state it in case it was a part of the daily routine of your office.

Mr. Murray: May I say this: That the only time the matter of opening anybody's mail was ever brought up in the Boston post office, that I remember, was after the declaration of war, when it was brought up that the mail of the interned German sailors in Boston ought to be censored and it was put up to me to open that mail or to give it to somebody who would open it, and I would not do any such thing.

Mr. Huddleston: Who put it up to you?

Mr. Murray: And I made it the subject of correspondence with the Department, and the Postoffice Department at Washington took the same attitude that I took about the matter, that even the mail of interned German sailors and alien enemies of this Government ought not to be opened.

Mr. Huddleston: Who put it up to you?

Mr. Murray: Now, if you insist on an answer to that question I will answer it.

Mr. Huddleston: I think it ought to be answered.

Mr. Murray: A Secret Service man.

Mr. Heintz: Of the Treasury Department?

Mr. Murray: Yes.

Mr. Huddleston: Did he hold himself out as being instructed to take such action or was he doing it...

Mr. Murray: (Interposing) He did not get as far as that. He asked for certain letters. I said, no; he said "Turn your back." I said "I will not." He said "Why not?" I said "Because if I turn my back, you will take those letters and open them, and you will not take any letters going thru the Boston post office and open them while I am postmaster." And that was said in presence of the assistant postmaster.

And then to be charged with opening anybody's mail when I would not even allow such action in that instance, and do you wonder that I am feeling pretty hot about this thing, to be charged with that when I would not allow even the German sailors' mail to be opened. That mail was in the post office for two or three weeks while I wrote to the Department here about it, and a copy of the correspondence is in the Department here.

The thing that staggered the congressmen, of course, was the frank admission that the secret service men, who belong to the Treasury Department and have no more right of access to the mails than a soldier or a sailor, entered the Boston post office, abstracted the letters of the interned German sailors and perfidiously sought permission to open them. Murray is an Irish politician and evidently holds old-fashioned ideas as to the sacredness of the mails. The fact that when he insisted on putting the matter up to the Department the latter refused to go officially on record as approving it is considered of less significance than the calm effrontery of the secret service men.

The question is: What would have happened with a more pliant postmaster? What were they doing in the post office at all? How widespread is the practice of opening private mail?

These are the questions which the House seems determined to have answered.

Those who have evidence regarding the practices of the Post Office Department should communicate with our fail with their congressman or with Chairman Keating of the House Committee on Post Office Expenditures.

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### From The Firing Line

"I think The American Socialist the best paper published," says C. C. Kelly, Texas.

"It is the best news paper, which would not open a Socialist paper if there were one," writes L. J. Lundell, Colorado. "It seems like The American Socialist is getting quite popular since the Postmaster General tried his trick on it."

"I am a Socialist to the core, and doing all I can to keep it that way. This is the only thing that will bring a Perfect Democracy," writes J. W. Phillips, Arkansas.

"This is my answer to the Postoffice czars," writes Ralph E. Day, Maine, as he sends in a list of new readers.

"Picked up three subs in protest against the suppression of our papers. Am well pleased with The American Socialist and in fact the future of the movement is general," writes Ernest Pearson, Minnesota.

"Once an old line Republican, but now a Socialist," writes J. W. Hoffman, Michigan. "He sends for two papers weekly, one to read and keep, the other to be passed around."

"Please start my subscription with the issue of July 28. I like that issue. I see several of my old Single Tax friends are being quoted, and being personally acquainted with them it makes me feel like I should subscribe to The American Socialist," writes J. W. Flory, Kansas.

"Most of these voted for Wilson because he kept us out of war," writes Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor, Oregon, as she sends in a list of new readers.

"Birthday Greeting and a mite for the million mark," writes S. I. Carter, Oregon.

"Twenty-five new subscriptions were picked up in a small railroad town in Illinois by W. B. Baughman in a short time of vigorous endeavor. We have sent him an American Labor Year Book as recognition of his efforts. The railroad men are ripe for the good work. Congratulations and thanks, comrades,"

Henry Hoffmann, Minnesota, sends in a list of 15, and writes, "another list will be on the road next week."

"The last copies have been great," writes P. W. Noble, Washington, as he sends in a list of new readers.

Mr. Huddleston: I think it ought to be answered.

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Mr. Murray: (Interposing) He did not get as far as that. He asked for certain letters. I said, no; he said "Turn your back." I said "I will not."

He said "Why not?" I said "Because if I turn my back, you will take those letters and open them, and you will not take any letters going thru the Boston post office and open them while I am postmaster." And that was said in presence of the assistant postmaster.

And then to be charged with opening anybody's mail when I would not even allow such action in that instance, and do you wonder that I am feeling pretty hot about this thing, to be charged with that when I would not allow even the German sailors' mail to be opened. That mail was in the post office for two or three weeks while I wrote to the Department here about it, and a copy of the correspondence is in the Department here.

The thing that staggered the congressmen, of course, was the frank admission that the secret service men, who belong to the Treasury Department and have no more right of access to the mails than a soldier or a sailor, entered the Boston post office, abstracted the letters of the interned German sailors and perfidiously sought permission to open them. Murray is an Irish politician and evidently holds old-fashioned ideas as to the sacredness of the mails. The fact that when he insisted on putting the matter up to the Department the latter refused to go officially on record as approving it is considered of less significance than the calm effrontery of the secret service men.

The question is: What would have happened with a more pliant postmaster? What were they doing in the post office at all? How widespread is the practice of opening private mail?

These are the questions which the House seems

